

CAMPAIGN AGAINST
carf
RACISM & FASCISM

No 7 March/April 1992

80p

**'One death is
a death too many'**

Murders in Manchester, Newham • Deaths in custody

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CARF is produced by an independent non-party-political collective which has provided anti-racist and anti-fascist materials to the movement for 14 years.

Campaign Against Racism and Fascism
No 7 March/April 1992
BM Box 8784, London WC1N 3XX
Tel: 071-837 1450

ISSN 0140-753X

Cover photo: John Walter
Printed by Russell Press

EDITORIAL

There is a smug, self-satisfied view of race relations that is becoming current in Britain. Kenneth ('our justice is the best in the world') Baker is its symbol and signifier. At every turn, we are told how much better race relations are in Britain than in the rest of Europe. A recent BBC 'Reportage' programme was patting itself on its back – on the basis of selected interviews with young black achievers – that Britain was so much better than the USA or France or Germany.

Why, in the first place, do we judge Britain by the standards of a re-nazifying Germany or a Le Pen-iste France? Why, in other words, do we subscribe to the lowest common denominators of racism instead of aspiring to outlaw racism from our society altogether?

In the second place, if Britain's record of post-war anti-racism is better than other countries in Europe, it is only because the militant struggles of blacks and anti-racist groups forced the hand of government and not because of government beneficence. Even the Race Relations Act, which politicians hold up high over Europe as the flag of our tolerance, barely touches on the most prevalent, virulent forms of racism in this country.

In January, a Tamil refugee, Mr Sahitharan, was murdered by a white gang who beat him with a baseball bat. Taxi driver Mohammed Sarwar was dragged from his car and battered to death in Manchester. Shopkeeper Siddik Dada, also of Manchester, was attacked with machetes and killed, possibly by the same gang.

But black people do not seem to be any safer in our institutions than on our streets. In January, Melita Crawford died in mysterious circumstances in Risley Remand Centre. Mark Fletcher, sectioned by police in Birmingham, died suddenly in hospital after an injection of drugs into his spine. And what hope have we that inquests will go to the core of the matter, that bereaved families will consider justice to be done? On the

police shooting of Ian Gordon in Telford, the jury returned a verdict of lawful killing.

In the case of the murders on the streets, community organisations have rallied around the bereaved families. But, at the same time as galvanising local people into action, community organisations are calling for national support to ensure that such murders are not forgotten. The Rolan Adams Family Campaign and the Anti-Racist Alliance marked the first anniversary of Rolan's death with a mass protest against the National Headquarters of the British National Party. A National Demonstration Against Racism has been called in Newham on 28 March and, as we go to press, a similar action is being considered in Manchester.

The first priority of these campaigns – as it has been for countless black campaigns that have gone before – is to publicise the racial motivation behind the murders. The police still insist that 'territorialism' and not racism was the primary motive for Rolan's murder – as though it were natural for a white gang to murder a black youth because he strayed into their patch.

If the police's downplaying of racism in that case seemed to take on a more sophisticated, sociological veneer, in the cases of Mr Dada and Mr Sarwar, the police have reverted to old arguments, dismissing racism and claiming robbery as the only possible motive (as if the two were mutually exclusive). As for the murder of Mr Sahitharan, yes, it has been acknowledged as racially motivated, but it still remains to be seen what resources and effort the police will put into the murder investigation.

Nor can we allow the tragic deaths of Melita Crawford and Mark Fletcher to go unchallenged – or, for that matter, ignore the countless daily acts of police racism, like the treatment of the Deanes (see p5) that shape the black experience and stigmatise our society.

'One death is a death too many'. ■

Ways you can help CARF

CARF now has a bookshop distributor. If your local bookshop doesn't stock CARF, all you have to do is tell them to contact Central Books, 081-986 4854.

Can you speak Swedish, Norwegian, French, German, etc? CARF receives reports, magazines, etc, from other European countries and we need people to assist in translating them. Can you help? Please ring us on 071-837 1450.

The life and death of a refugee

Mr Panchadcharam Sahitharan was attacked by a gang of white youths in Manor Park, London. He died four days later as a result of his injuries. Since 1970, at least 54 black people have died as a result of racial violence. But Mr Sahitharan is not just another statistic.

When Mr Sahitharan landed at Heathrow Airport on 16 February 1990, having first fled from Jaffna, in the north of Sri Lanka, to Colombo, he immediately applied for political asylum. He was not a member of any political organisation, but an ordinary civilian caught up in a civil war. The Sinhalese government's pogroms against the Tamils in 1983 had forced thousands into exile. But Sahi, as he was known by his friends, had decided to stay. However, with the coming of the ironically named Indian Peace Keeping Force in 1987, the situation worsened. Young Tamil men were rounded up indiscriminately on suspicion of being members of the revolutionary Tamil Tigers (the LTTE), who were waging a guerrilla war against both the Sri Lankan government and the Indian Peace Keeping Force.

On arriving here, Sahitharan was granted exceptional leave to remain. He went to live with his sister (his only immediate relative in the UK) in Newham. Sahi could never be sure whether his temporary admission would be extended. (Less than 2% of all Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka receive full refugee status.) For the first six months, the regulations prevented him from working or taking up full-time study. Depressed and lonely, Sahi became a recluse. But eventually he found work as a trainee at John Menzies and he moved from his sister's house to Manor Park.

Murder

On 29 December 1991, Sahi was walking home when he was attacked by a gang of white youths, one of them wielding a baseball bat. (The same gang, it is believed, was responsible for a number of racist attacks that day.) Sahi ran all the way to his sister's home crying, 'Look what has happened. I never wanted to leave Sri Lanka. Now, look what has happened. I am going to die here.' Although bleeding from the head, Sahi was coherent enough to tell his relatives the details of the attack. An ambulance came at 5.15pm and took him to Newham General

Hospital. At 10pm, he was transferred to the London Hospital where a brain scan was done. At 2am, the hospital decided to operate as a blood clot had developed. Following the operation, which the hospital claimed was successful, Sahi was put on a life support machine. He died four days later, on 3 January 1992, without regaining consciousness.

Where angels fear to tread

No immediate community mobilisation was called, out of respect for the family, who were in mourning. But, sadly, the death was seized upon by the Anti-Nazi League as an opportune moment for the mobilisation of its own forces. No sooner was Mr Sahitharan's murder reported in the *Newham Recorder* than the ANL declared it would be holding a demonstration in Newham. ANL leaflets claimed that it was working with the consent of the bereaved family and asked people to make donations to the ANL to cover the cost of the demonstration.

Not only did the ANL fail to consult with local community organisations as to the wisdom of its plans, but it was indifferent to the sensibilities of the family, whose support and consent (whether for a march or for raising funds) it had not obtained. In the face of mounting black and

community opposition, however, the ANL backed down – will it show its contrition by giving any money raised to the Sahitharan Memorial Committee?

Community action

The Memorial Committee, which has been set up in conjunction with the Newham Monitoring Project, is linking up with the Deane Family Campaign (see p5) to organise a National Demonstration Against Racism in Newham on 28 March. The priority for the committee is to look after the needs of Sahitharan's relatives by arranging emergency payments from the DSS and specialist legal advice. But the committee is also concerned to put pressure on the police – who admit that the murder was racist – to carry out a thorough investigation. Two months after Mr Sahitharan's murder, no one has been arrested. The committee is launching an independent call for information and witnesses, translating leaflets into different languages and distributing them around the borough.

On Friday, 21 February, the Memorial Committee organised a protest rally. Flowers were laid at the spot where Mr Sahitharan was attacked and prayers were said at religious centres across the borough. ■

For further information contact NMP: 081-555 8151.

Manchester murders

Siddik Dada and Mohammed Sarwar have been murdered in Manchester. The community is fighting back.

The murders of shopkeeper Siddik Dada and taxi driver Mohammed Sarwar in Manchester in January have shocked Manchester's Asian community. United in their anger, over 1,000 people joined a funeral cortege taking Mr Sarwar's body from Rusholme's mosque to Manchester Airport to be flown back to Pakistan. Taxi drivers came out in their hundreds, displaying

black flags on their cars and bringing traffic to a halt.

The brutality and senselessness of the murders has left local people sickened. 60-year-old Siddik Dada was found unconscious in a pool of blood on Thursday, 23 January, with multiple deep skull fractures. He had been attacked by a white gang armed with machetes; he died 13 days later.

Meanwhile, on Sunday, 26 January, 46-year-old taxi driver Mohammed Sarwar was dragged from his car and battered to death. His body was later found lying in the streets; his taxi had been set alight.

Questions...

The police have charged three people, including a woman, with murder. But campaigners want to know why the police were so quick to rule out racism, instead saying that the only possible motive for attack was robbery? Why did police treat the incidents initially as totally unconnected, only to question soon after a gang of white youths for both? And were these murders connected in any way to a recent spate of bullying attacks on Asian shopkeepers in the Manchester area?

The campaign to establish the truth has got off to a united start. Even the *Manchester Metro News* acknowledged that the funeral procession was 'one of the largest' the city has ever seen. Campaigners are planning a public rally, pickets of the court (the next



Mourners with the coffin containing Mohammed Sarwar's body

court appearance of the accused is on 27 March) and are considering calling a national demonstration.

No one will easily forget the harrowing words of Mr Sarwar's nephew, speaking at a meeting shortly after his uncle's death. 'I had to go and identify the body of my uncle. It was such a brutal murder that my uncle's face was unrecognisable. If you took

a look at my uncle's face you would understand why you must come together. If my uncle's murder can unite people to stop racist murders, then I believe, his blood will not be in vain.' ■

Further information from Mohammed Sarwar Memorial Committee, c/o Pakistan Cultural Centre, Stockport Road, Longsight, Manchester.

Tell me how my daughter died

What do the names Mark Fletcher, Oliver Pryce and Melita Crawford mean to you? Probably nothing. Yet these are the names of three young black people who have recently died in police, prison or hospital custody in suspicious circumstances. Three more young lives have been taken – unnecessarily – and we sit back and do nothing?

Colin Roach, Blair Peach, Clinton McCurbin became household names. They were cases in which state repression was exposed because there was a black press to investigate, local groups to agitate, ask questions and support families to push the legal system to its limits in the pursuit of justice. But we cannot let any black death go unchallenged.

At every point in the custodial system black people are at risk – of undue violence, of medical neglect, of dangerous drugs. Vulnerable young black people who are mentally unstable are being criminalised. Those who are recognised as mentally ill are being brutalised. And all in a system where officers are a law unto themselves, where they close ranks when a death occurs, where the inquest cannot establish who was to blame for a death.

Mark Fletcher, a 21-year-old African-Caribbean man, died on 8 February in Dudley Road Hospital, Birmingham. We do not know as yet

what he died of or what led him to be there. What we do know is that he was taken into police custody, sectioned under the Mental Health Act and transferred to All Saints Hospital. There he allegedly collapsed after an injection of drugs was made into his spine. But why was he taken into custody, what medical treatment did he receive, what led to his collapse?

Oliver Pryce was asphyxiated by Middlesbrough policemen in July 1990. CARF hoped that, with the inquest verdict of 'unlawful killing', returned in November 1991, his family would see justice done. But, to date, three months after that inquest, the coroner's office has still not forwarded the necessary papers to the Director of Public Prosecutions. (It has also emerged that the Police Complaints Authority, which has to investigate every death in custody, was not brought in to investigate Oliver's death until two weeks after it had occurred.) Meanwhile, the family of Ian Gordon,

who was shot dead by police in Telford, are shocked to have his killing judged 'lawful' at his inquest. They are calling for a public inquiry.

The mother of 24-year-old Melita Crawford just wants the Home Office to tell her how her daughter died whilst on remand at Risley on a shop-lifting charge. Melita was found dead in her bed by night patrol officers. It is thought that she died when a packet of heroin that she had swallowed, burst. But why was someone with a history of mental illness remanded in prison? Was it recognised by the authorities that she was a drug-user? How long did it take for the emergency bell to be answered by night-staff whilst she was choking to death?

These deaths and their treatment by the authorities bear all the hallmarks of previous black deaths. In the late 1980s, youth worker Terence Brown and salesman Edwin Carr died suddenly in hospital without explanation, just like Mark Fletcher. Winston

Rose and Clinton McCurbin, like Oliver Pryce, were also asphyxiated in police neck-holds. Will the Pryce family, like the Rose family, have to wait ten years to get compensation? Jamie Stewart died, like Melita, from a drug overdose which was either ignored or misdiagnosed by police. And Delroy McKnight, like Melita, might be alive today if the emergency bell at his prison had been answered more promptly.

But for the occasional paragraph in the *Voice* and the campaigning work of Inquest, such deaths would never

be made known at all. To prevent yet more similar deaths, there must be an unrelenting campaign around deaths in custody, the conditions under which they occur, and get covered up.

This means alerting local and national papers to each death, passing information to black groups in each area, making sure that families of the bereaved are supported emotionally, financially and legally.

It also means keeping up a constant pressure about the failures of the Prison Medical Service, exposing the abuses

of black people under the Mental Health Act, demanding inquiries into black deaths which go beyond the confines of the inquest.

That is the only way to prevent a future Mrs Crawford having to ask, 'Tell me how my daughter died?' ■

Thanks to Inquest for help in the preparation of this article. Inquest can be contacted at 330 Seven Sisters Road, London N4 2PJ. Tel: 081-802 7430. A detailed account of black deaths since 1969 is available in *Deadly Silence* published by the Institute of Race Relations, 2-6 Leeke Street, Kings Cross Road, London WC1X 9HS, price £4.

Put policing back on the agenda

On 21 April, the case of the Deanes, a black family from Newham, will be heard at Newham West Magistrates' Court. This is just one of many cases which, CARF believes, demonstrates that it's time that the anti-racist movement put policing back on the agenda.

It is not enough just to take up the better known cases of 'miscarriages of justice' (a phrase which begs the question, 'What justice?'). Too many black people are being criminalised through everyday encounters with the police, through stop and search and by being railroaded through the magistrates' court where the chance of a fair trial is at its minimum. In the past few months:

- Two drunken policemen based at Hammersmith, west London, were each jailed for two years after they head-butted, punched and beat up a Nigerian scientist, working as a mini-cab driver, when they were out on a stag night.

- Valerie Marche and Rodney Pilgrim were awarded £20,000 damages from the Metropolitan police arising from a stop and search, during which Rodney was accused of throwing cannabis out of the car door.

- Malcolm Woods, a black man from Toxteth, was awarded £4,000 for false imprisonment and assault after being charged with public order offences in 1989. He said that his face was pushed to the floor of a police van and he was told, 'Stay down, nigger.'

- Rita Sorhaindo from Bradford was awarded £5,000 for assault and false imprisonment.

Justice for the Deanes

The National March Against Racism in Newham is also being organised by the 'Defend the Deane Family Campaign'. On 4 November 1991, the police were investigating an incident



Tony Deane after the incident

in Newham, east London, when they approached Tony Deane, a local shopkeeper, and asked if he had witnessed anything. According to Tony Deane, what followed was an unprovoked, vicious attack by the police, during which he was kned in the groin and beaten about his head and body. Tony's father, a respected businessman who has never been in trouble with the police before, says he begged the officers to stop the assault, only to be attacked too. Mr Deane, a 53-year-old severe asthmatic, lost consciousness. He required emergency treatment at Newham General Hospital. Doctors initially feared that Tony Deane, who received severe bruising to his body, a badly swollen eye and numerous gashes to his face, had a fractured bone in his lower back.

Policing into the 1990s

Newham is situated in the police's notorious 'Area 2 East Division', which also covers Hackney and Tower Hamlets. The Mile End 22 Defence Campaign was set up recently in Tower Hamlets after a police attack on a party for the homeless, and things are so bad at Leman Street police station in Tower Hamlets that the Community Alliance for Police Accountability is considering launching a campaign over it.

Over in Hackney, the Hackney Community Defence Association has just produced a report, *A crime is a crime*, detailing 143 cases of police malpractice reported to the group in the past three years. It was recently revealed that an ongoing Scotland Yard Crime Team investigation, following allegations of police planting and dealing in illegal drugs, has resulted in eight officers from Stoke Newington police station being transferred to other duties.

In 1990, Hackney police opened up a £9m police station which has around 200 cells and is designed as a 'holding station' in the event of riots. Over in Newham, builders are now putting the finishing touches to a new multi-million police station drawn up on a similar model. It's already been dubbed 'Fortress Forest Gate' by local young black people. ■

Information on the Deane Family Campaign is available from Newham Monitoring Project, 081-555 8151. *A crime is a crime* is available at £2.00 from HCDA, 071-249 0193.

Germany: anti-Semitism and citizenship

The case of Eugen W has proved, once again, that the Federal Republic of Germany is a racist, anti-Semitic state. Anjali and Biplab Gupta-Basu report from Germany.

In the midst of the inauguration of countless grandiose Jewish cultural festivals in the Berlin of 1992, one solitary German journalist dared to pose the audacious question. Why has there not been one German post-war politician whose sense of responsibility, loss or guilt has led him to say to the Jews: come and live in Germany, it is not complete without you, it is your home as much as ours? Whether, especially for a German Jew, this can ever be an acceptable proposition is another matter, and for each individual to decide.

Jewish, not German

The German Jew, Eugen W, did decide. Though no fellow German invited him back to the country of his forefathers, Eugen W, son of a German Jewish father and a Romanian Christian mother, arrived in Berlin in 1982. After working for a state-owned transport company for nine years, Eugen W applied for German citizenship. The unthinkable happened. His application was refused, on the grounds that his father was of Jewish, not of German nationality. Eugen W appealed.

On 27 September 1991, the highest federal administrative court in Berlin (Oberverwaltungsgericht) rejected Eugen W's renewed application for German citizenship, giving him no further right to appeal. The court issued the following judgment:

'Doubt is shed on the German ethnicity of the father of the applicant on the grounds ... that from 1941-1945, the aforementioned was required to do forced labour at several places. As ... male Jews ... were, at the time, deployed to do forced labour, it can be assumed that ... the father of the applicant was regarded as a member of the Jewish ethnic group.'

'Doubt is finally also shed on the German ethnicity of the father of the applicant on the basis ... that, according to the citizens' register of the State of Israel, the father of the applicant was registered as being "of

Jewish religion" and "of Jewish nationality", while the mother of the applicant is registered as "Christian" under the category of religion, and "not registered" under the category of nationality.'

National consciousness

This is a Germany that has recognised as German Polish people who were classified 'Aryans' under the National Socialist regime; a Germany that, if you are of 'mixed' parentage, recognises your 'Germanness' only if you can prove that your German



forefathers served in the German world wars; a Germany which denies citizenship to the children of Turkish parents on whose backs the Federal Republic was built; a Germany that pays Israel reparations for the genocide of the Jewish people but not a single penny to the Sinti and Roma for the genocide of their people on the grounds of their classification as 'criminals' in Nazi Germany. This same Germany tells Eugen W that he lacks 'the transmittance of ethnic characteristics and behaviour patterns, as well as the historic experience passed down from one generation to another'.

Surviving the holocaust does not qualify you to be a German. It is not enough, for German courts, to be 'of German culture'. No. To be recognised, you must also be German by 'national consciousness'. In other words, no proof or justification of your German blood is required if you 'happened to be' a member of the SS,

or classified as 'Aryan'. But if you are of German Sinti, German Roma or German Jewish parentage, the courts offer you the following laws:

'a linguistic or cultural similarity with German ethnicity, also to be found in conjunction with other nationalities, is not enough. What is necessary is the consciousness of having a national link; as German ethnicity ... is a nationally determined cultural community [judgment of 19 January 1977]. A member of the German ethnicity in the sense of the "Federal laws for deportees" is not simply a person of German culture but a "professed German", if this is based on particular characteristics such as race, language, upbringing, culture...'

Remember history

The Reich's interior ministry of March 1939 had the same definition:

'Members of the German ethnicity are those that classify themselves as professed members of the German people as far as this assertion is based on specific facts such as language, upbringing, culture, etc. Persons of different blood, particularly Jews, are never members of the German ethnicity, even if they have, up to now, referred to themselves as such.'

As Karam Khella – a leading Arab critic of how Germans have, quite comfortably, relegated their fascist history to the past – puts it, the uniqueness of German fascism lies in the way in which past crimes are used to justify new ones. But fascism is not an aberration in German history: it has grown out of Germany's history and belongs to its present.

The recent 'outbreak' of discrimination, violence, murder and abuse directed against those who are not 'Aryan', not heterosexual, not 'professed' members of the 'national consciousness' of the German race, is not an 'outbreak' at all. It is simply yet another product of a racist state with a long history. ■

Denmark: sanctuary ends in victory

Danish anti-racists, while celebrating an asylum victory, urge vigilance.

Seventy stateless Palestinians from the Lebanon, who sought sanctuary in a Copenhagen church after being served with deportation orders, have now been granted permission to stay in Denmark on humanitarian grounds. The Danish government has also promised that, for the time being at least, no Palestinians from the Lebanon will be deported.

The Palestinians, who arrived in Denmark during the last two years, had lived through the civil war in Lebanon, but had to flee after Syria assumed suzerainty. Initially, their applications for asylum were rejected on two grounds. First, that Lebanon is safe for Palestinians – despite reports to the contrary from organisations like Amnesty International, UNHCR

and Middle East Watch. Second, that it was the Palestinians' country of first asylum. This astounded the Palestinians. 'My grandparents left Palestine for Lebanon in 1949', said one of the refugees. 'They did not ask for asylum in Lebanon, and I have spent all my life in that country'.

The Palestinians, who had the support of immigrant organisations, trade unions, churches and human rights groups, appealed, but this was rejected. They sought sanctuary in a church in central Copenhagen, where they received sympathy and solidarity from a wide section of Danish society, including representatives of the Jewish community.

Now, after months in the church, the Palestinians are free to stay in the

country. However, although this is rightly being seen as an important victory, campaigners are all too aware of the limitations of the decision. Issued with humanitarian residence permits (similar to our exceptional leave to remain), the refugees have only temporary admittance and so are not entitled to settlement assistance from the Danish Refugee Council. And while the government has promised that no Palestinians from Lebanon will be deported at present, only constant pressure will ensure that this decision is not overturned in the future. ■

Fortress Europe

Belgium

Since last summer, asylum-seekers who have not come direct from the country of persecution can be expelled without having their case examined.

Germany

A new Bill allows for refugees to be held in 'collection camps' (16 military barracks, housing over 5,000 people, are being made available), and for quick decisions on 'manifestly ill-founded applications'. A proposed amendment to the constitutional right to asylum would allow the authorities to turn away anyone who had travelled through a 'safe' country without examining their claim. Fingerprinting is to be extended to all asylum-seekers.

France

A new law was passed allowing airlines to be fined for bringing in undocumented passengers, and for asylum-seekers to be detained while their claim is decided. But the Constitutional Court almost immediately declared the detention provisions illegal.

Austria

A new law prevents asylum-seekers without satisfactory documents or who have travelled through a 'safe' country from having their claims examined.

European Community

The European Ad Hoc Group on Immigration's December 1991 report recommends the fingerprinting of all asylum-seekers, on the grounds that the names of many of them 'are too similar to allow proper identification'. The EC has agreed to a feasibility study on a common system of comparison.

'Just drunks having a go'

Racist violence in Switzerland is taking on shocking new proportions, reports a CARF correspondent in St Gallen.

The hate and anger expressed by more and more Swiss people against asylum-seekers and 'guestworkers' is a shocking new reality. Almost every week physical attacks are being carried out.

● On 2 July 1989, two Tamil adults and two children were killed in an arson attack in Chur, for which no one has been brought to justice.

● In May 1991, racists threw smoke grenades into the hallway of a hostel in Bulach. A Lebanese was treated in hospital.

● On 19 June, shots were fired from a passing car into a refugee hostel in Aadorf TG.

● On 19 July, a refugee hostel in Sion VS was set alight and one person died. Police called it an accident.

● During July, attacks using explosives were made on Freiburg hostels.

● In August, a house where refugees lived was burned down in Laupen; another fire in a house close to Geneva

airport where 40 asylum-seekers lived was treated by police as arson.

In 1992, there have already been an estimated 35 arson and bomb attacks against asylum-seekers and other non-Swiss nationals, yet we are constantly being told there is no racial motivation. 'Just drunks having a go' is how the story goes. For there is now an unholy alliance in Switzerland between violent racists and the police and politicians who try to play down attacks.

On 25 January, the Asylum Co-ordination Group and Turkish and Kurdish migrants demonstrated in Bern after police arrested five workers on the Turkish paper, *Mucadele*, on the grounds that they had been blackmailing other Turks to raise money for their socialist paper. The demonstrators protested at these trumped up charges, which are seen as a way of threatening and trying to prevent political activity amongst foreigners in Switzerland. ■

Educations's new ethnocentric order

The campaign against anti-racist education waged by New Right educationalists, the press and Conservative politicians throughout the 1980s is continuing into the 1990s. CARF reports on aspects of the fight against the new ethnocentrism.

Parent power

Ever since the Dewsbury case in 1987 – when, with the support of the right-wing Parental Alliance for Choice in Education, a number of children were removed from schools where a majority of the pupils were of Asian origin – withdrawal of children has been a major tactic of protest at multiracial education.

Sometimes, the issue is presented as one of religion. In a recent case in Wakefield, the education authority agreed to the transfer of a pupil whose parents had objected to cards being sent to mark the end of the Muslim festival of Eid, as well as to stories being told in Punjabi. This transfer took place even though the Education Secretary rejected the parents' complaint.

Herman Ouseley, Director of Education for the former ILEA:

'The new right movement into the education arena in the mid-1980s was influential in shaping government policies. "Monetarism", "freedom", "market economy" and "independence" have been the dominant themes. What this means is selection, choice if you have the money, elimination of anti-racist education and the down-grading of multi-cultural themes. It is black and other working-class children who suffer most from the new order.'

In Hampshire, several parents withdrew their children from their primary school just before Christmas when the school decided to put on a Hindu play as part of its work about the festival of Diwali.

In other cases, parents simply claim that their children's education will suffer. Last year, for example, white parents in east London withdrew their daughter from her primary school, claiming that she would be held back because most of the other pupils were Asian.

Such 'parent power' secured a major victory, arising from a case in

Cleveland, when the Appeal Court ruled last year that the legal right of parents to choose their children's school overrides the provisions of the Race Relations Act. The parent in this instance said she objected to her daughter learning 'Pakistani' and singing nursery rhymes in Punjabi. The judge not only described the woman's concerns as 'absolutely reasonable', but said that in exercising her right to choose, her reasons were irrelevant. While stating that the parent in this case was 'not racist at all', the judge said that even a 'real racist' would be entitled to have her or his choice of school upheld.

The decision is now the subject of appeal by the Commission for Racial Equality, but it is, in the meantime, undoubtedly a victory for parental 'choice'. It also has a major symbolic value in undermining the principle of non-discrimination enshrined in the Race Relations Act.

Parents who do not want their children in multiracial schools have been given the green light simply to remove them. In addition, schools themselves may impose unofficial quotas of black pupils so as to avoid disputes in the future.

Exclusions

The principle of 'choice' inherent in the local management of schools, introduced by the 1988 Education Act, could also militate against black children. Schools, anxious to increase their appeal (and therefore their roll) and no longer obliged by law to provide education to a particular child, could exclude black children deliberately.

In fact, since the 1960s, African-Caribbean parents in particular have complained of the racist suspension and expulsion of their children from school. Worrying evidence suggests that this pattern is increasing. In one London education authority, according to a recent Quality Education Consultants' survey, 90% of excluded pupils were African-Caribbean. One-quarter of exclusions in Croydon were black, yet African-Caribbean children make up less than 12% of the school

population. And last year, after complaints by black parents, an investigation by Nottingham council found that one in four of its excluded pupils was black, even though fewer than 1,000 of its 14,000 pupils were black.

A Rastafarian mother is currently pursuing the first case to use the Race Relations Act to challenge the exclusion of her 4-year-old son.

Stella Dadzie, member of the Forum for the Advancement of Training and Education for the Black Unemployed:

'For further education, the whole emphasis of what is done in colleges has switched to profit-making and payment by results. Courses which do not earn money or require additional resources – such as Access, English as a second or other language, courses for Women Returners – are being cut in favour of obvious money-spinners. After all, why run language support classes for penniless refugees, when you can rake in the pounds teaching the same stuff to au pairs or foreign businessmen?'

Religion as exclusion

Denominational schools may also contribute to an increasing division of schools along racial lines. That such schools have an absolute right to give priority to Christian children was affirmed by the Appeal Court in November 1991, when it overturned an earlier decision that an east London Catholic girls' school had unfairly excluded two pupils, one Hindu, one Muslim.

Denominational schools can, therefore, refuse to accept black children by reason of religion – and do so with impunity. Indeed, there are already nine schools in east London which have no Asian pupils at all, despite a large Bengali population.

Religion as separatism

While Christian schools receive support, Muslim schools receive a

hostile press. Demands for Muslim schools are made for a number of reasons, political as well as religious, and it is important that these be understood. However, such schools are nowhere near as popular in the Muslim community as sections of the press would have us believe. An Advisory Centre for Education survey of east London shows that although Muslims are concerned that state schools are not doing enough for their children, few see denominational schools as the answer.

But the issue provides a useful stick with which to beat Muslims, since it is portrayed as further evidence of their refusal to integrate into British society. This 'otherness' is emphasised by describing Muslim schools as 'separate', rather than 'denominational'.

Despite such opposition, there is now a body of support for such schools on the Right. People like Baroness Cox, architect of much right-wing educational policy, regarding such schools as upholding traditional values, see them as a welcome alternative to state schools.

The fascist dimension

The British National Party (BNP) wants to make education a priority for 1992. And the Tory government and the New Right have provided the fertile soil in which fascist hatred can breed.

Whereas the New Right talks in terms of parental choice, the BNP is explicit in its race hate message. 'Multi Racial Bedlam Grips Nation's Schools' shrieks the *Spearhead* headline. 'Now our nurseries are full of "learn to read" books in which the characters comprise Asians, West Indians and every other ethnic minority imaginable.'

Chris Searle, Sheffield head teacher and writer, on the new music curriculum:

'It would mean imposing a European, imperial view of culture. We appreciate the beauty of the classical composers and the wonderful tradition of classical music, but to deny children equal access to music from Africa, Asia and the Caribbean is very ignorant and prejudiced.'

Whilst critical of new government measures (the National Curriculum, for instance, is not nationalist enough),

the BNP welcomes the Cleveland decision because white parents can now remove their kids from 'alien dominated schools'. Segregation, however, is only a short-term measure – the real solution being repatriation.

The right-wing press is also criticised for failing to draw the correct conclusions from the recent publication of local league tables on school achievement. In the December issue of *British Nationalist*, an article, headed 'School Ability: the race factor they ignore', argues that all the areas with the best results were overwhelmingly white, whilst those with the worst had large Asian and West Indian populations.

On certain points, New Right ideas can merge with those of the far Right. For instance, Hampshire County Council's attempts to introduce the monitoring of racial incidents in schools are condemned by the BNP as part of a growing strategy to 'manipulate, brainwash and frighten British youngsters into knuckling under to multi-racialism'. Fred Naylor of the Parental Alliance for Choice in Education (quoted approvingly in *British Nationalist*) agrees. The proposals were, he told the *Mail* and the *Sun*, evidence of 'Big Brother' in the playground.

Role of the press

Sections of the media attack multiracial education whenever possible. The most blatant example was the expose in 1991 of Culloden primary school, east London. Though ostensibly criticised for its reading standards, the school, which has a substantial minority of pupils of Asian origin, was clearly being attacked for its pupil-centred approach to learning and commitment to race equality.

After the school featured in a generally sympathetic TV documentary, the *Daily Mail* administered a reading test, in highly questionable circumstances, to some pupils, and then claimed that the school was failing its pupils. The Department of Education and Science immediately sent in the Inspectors whose findings were then leaked to the *Mail on Sunday*.

Political correctness

The latest weapon in the New Right's armoury is 'political correctness'. In America, the Right alleges that its Left opponents have been mounting ven-

detas around what is 'politically correct' as a way of censoring ideas on campus and getting rid of Right academics. If our right-wing press were to be believed, Britain is now ripe for a similar campaign.

The *Sunday Times* claims that Professor John Casey, a lecturer at Cambridge University – who, in a 1982 issue of the *Salisbury Review*, called for an end to immigration from the West Indies – is 'one of the first victims of the vogue for political correctness'. It pours scorn on attempts by students to challenge the elitism of the curriculum by organising extra-curricular lectures.

East London teacher of English as a second language:

'The National Curriculum is ethnocentric and very prescriptive. This means we are losing the flexibility to teach according to the needs and interests of the children in our school. And the huge amount of content means that teachers are under pressure to move on. Bilingual children can get left behind. It means that we won't be able to teach mixed ability groups any longer, we are being pushed back into streaming children. At GCSE the move from 100% course-work to exam testing affects a lot of kids, but bilingual ones find exam conditions particularly stressful.'

And Professor Kenneth Minogue, a former economic adviser to Thatcher, told the *Times* (16.12.91): 'The soil is there for Political Correctness to grow, especially in women's studies and other special interest subjects that really have no place in universities... We are already seeing the start of it in the unacceptable belief that universities should be socially representative of the population.'

In fact, these New Right ideologues are resisting educationalists' attempts to relate academic learning to the everyday life of the majority of their students – accusing them instead of being against freedom of speech and even fascist. To counter such fallacies, anti-racists need not be defensive or extremist. We need merely point out that it is the New Right which is anti-democratic, censorious and reactionary in wanting to return us to a 19th century-style narrow and elitist education system. ■

BNP election count-down

The BNP has announced its candidates for the general election. **CARF** gives some background on them, as well as providing anti-racist campaigners and journalists with some information on election law and some guidelines for dealing with fascist candidates.

The party which has declared that, if it comes to power, it will bring back hanging for traitors such as Margaret Thatcher, has already run into difficulties.

Proposed Dewsbury BNP candidate, 65-year-old Stanley Clayton Garnett, is rumoured to be standing down: ill-health is the reported reason. (Perhaps the old-timer, fearing a loss of deposit, has fallen foul of his own motto: 'To give and to sacrifice – not for personal gain'). Meanwhile, as we go to press, Tower Hamlets candidate Richard Edmonds is due to appear in court on an affray charge. A guilty charge could find Edmonds spending the elections alongside his erstwhile comrade, Tony Lecomber, sewing up mail bags.



Steven Cartwright, recently involved in an attack on Clyde Books, Glasgow

Other candidates, it is felt, are just not taking things seriously enough. Rochdale hopeful Ken Henderson (who is regional organiser for the North-west) polled only 158 votes when he stood in the May 1991 local elections in Small Heath and Wardleworth. Speaking shortly after, he claimed: 'A year ago, the BNP in the North-west was a bit of a joke...' So what's new Ken?

And then there is the problem of feuding with the National Front. BNP organiser Kevin Scott was apparently attacked by a number of skinhead members of the NF in Newcastle on 22 February. The skinheads, it seems, were enraged by Scott's attitude to the

BNP CANDIDATES

Edinburgh West, Steven Cartwright
Glasgow, Harry Mullin
Rochdale, Ken Henderson
Dewsbury, Stanley Clayton Garnett
Darlington, Dr Donald Clarke
Peterborough, Richard Heaton
Erewash, Notts, Lawrence Johnson
Blabey, Leics, John Peacock
Cardiff North, John Morse
Bermondsey, Steve Tyler
Bow, Poplar, John Tyndall
Bethnal Green, Richard Edmonds

Wallsall North, Uxbridge (to be announced)

naazi 'Oi' band 'Skullhead'.

On a more serious note, it is clear that the BNP leadership hopes that, although the election will undoubtedly lose it loads of money, it will provide it with a host of photo-opportunities.

For this reason, **CARF** prints some tips, drawn up for us by anti-fascist journalists, on the do's and don'ts of reporting (see box). We urge **CARF** readers to circulate this information amongst the press.

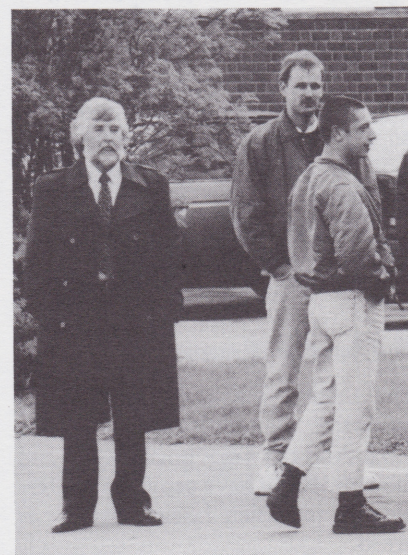
The facts about the nazis' violent message and activities must also get into the papers during this election time.



John Morse is responsible for the boring *British Nationalist* editorials, month after month after month...

One recent example of this was the attack on the Anti-Apartheid Bus in Islington, which was set on fire and suffered extensive damage. (Previously, NF slogans had been daubed on it.)

Clyde Books in Glasgow was also attacked in February. Following this, the BNP candidate for Edinburgh West, Steven Cartwright, was pulled in by the police.



East Midlands Regional Organiser John Peacock (left) – one of the most experienced of the BNP's candidates, having stood on several previous occasions – has never got more than 50 votes.

Meanwhile, on Saturday, 18 January, the Glasgow BNP made a pathetic attempt to disrupt the 700-strong march organised to commemorate the 20th anniversary of Bloody Sunday. The BNP joined up with members of Loyalist organisations such as the Apprentice Boys of Derry and the Orange Order. Twenty-three of the fascists and their allies were arrested during and after the march. One of them gave an Essex address in court, raising suspicions of a BNP mobilisation from as far as the south-east of England.

Since the demonstration, an organiser of the march, and an elderly couple with a similar name, have received threatening phone calls. Leaflets giving the woman's name, home number and address were circulated at the Scottish cup match in Aberdeen. ■

What the law says

CARF spoke to barrister Gavin Millar about how the law on elections, broadcasting and public order can be used against racist candidates

There are no provisions specifically aimed at outlawing racist campaigning in the Representation of the People Act 1983, which regulates the conduct of local and general elections. But it does make the use of threats or violence by or on behalf of a candidate, with the aim of altering the way someone votes (or to prevent them doing so altogether), illegal.

If this happens, there is the possibility of an election being set aside or re-run. Candidates who believe that racist activities have intimidated supporters should move very fast after the vote to take legal advice about issuing an election petition. The costs of a challenge can be prohibitive, but insurance can be obtained before the event to cover them.

In general, racist electioneering material can be challenged only on the same grounds as material put out at any other time. For example, it may be defamatory. As well as suing for damages, the person or people concerned can seek an injunction preventing further dissemination of the material. Again, legal advice should be taken quickly.

Alternatively, if a leaflet is 'threatening, abusive or insulting' and intended or likely to stir up racial hatred, a prosecution may be taken under the Public Order Act 1986. Possession of such material is also an offence and police do have the powers of entry and search. Unfortunately, such actions are rare.

A prosecution is also possible where words likely to stir up racial hatred are spoken in public. Such activities should always be brought to the attention of the authorities – if only to publicise what is happening.

Anti-racists writing about the campaigns of racist candidates should, however, be familiar with section 106 of the 1983 Act. This allows a candidate to get a High Court injunction to prevent the publication of material containing a false statement of fact about a candidate's personal character or conduct, if made with the aim of undermining his or her chances. Such an action can be opposed successfully by proving that the statement is true, or opinion rather than fact.

The Representation of the People Act does contain one important restriction relating to broadcast coverage of an election contest in a particular constituency or electoral area. Although a broadcast report does not have to give a balanced coverage of all the candidates, it must have the consent of them all. So, any candidate willing to forego publicity can block programmes about local campaigns where, for example, racists are standing.

National coverage is not affected. ITV companies have a legal duty to ensure 'impartial' coverage; the BBC has imposed the same duty on itself. In practice, however, it is virtually impossible to challenge how they interpret this, although the part of the Public Order Act about inciting racial hatred applies also to broadcasters.



As for party political broadcasts, these are parcelled out by a committee convened by a cabinet minister. Airtime can effectively be 'bought' by fringe racist parties, since the policy is to allocate on the basis of candidates fielded, not earlier electoral successes.

As for election meetings, under the Representation of the People Act local authorities have to make rooms (for example, in state schools) which are maintained at public expense and regularly let out for public meetings available to candidates. But the meeting must be genuinely public. So, if there is space, anyone can insist upon admission – and sue for damages for assault if physically prevented from doing so. ■

DOs and DON'Ts for journalists

There needs to be a debate amongst journalists about reporting fascism. But one thing is clear: simply reporting their comments and activities unchallenged is the worst solution.

Don't refer to the BNP or NF as 'right wingers'.

Do call them fascists or nazis.

Don't accept their assumptions and preconceptions.

Do ask them to spell out what they mean and to justify their claims.

Don't allow their spokespeople to give you quotes of their choice or uncritically reproduce their election address.

Do ask them about the views that they don't publicise.

Don't assume that all BNP and NF supporters are thugs and skinheads.

Do expect some sophisticated approaches, check the views of their thuggish minders.

Don't believe what they tell you about their candidate's personal history or their party's election activities.

Do check with black and community groups in the area.

Checklist

Has there been a debate in the council over the hiring of a hall to the BNP/NF for their election meeting?

Have halls been used by the BNP/NF in the past? Was there any damage?

What is the view of the local authority, trade unions, local tenants/residents associations, community groups?

Has a counter-demonstration or picket been organised?

Is a BNP/NF election meeting genuinely open to the public or just a rally for their own members?

Do the police intend to take action against any incitement to racial hatred/what steps are they taking to ensure that it does not occur?

Where do the BNP/NF members come from? Are they local?

Where do the BNP/NF supporters gather before and after the meeting? Are black residents or others abused or assaulted?

Asylum rights

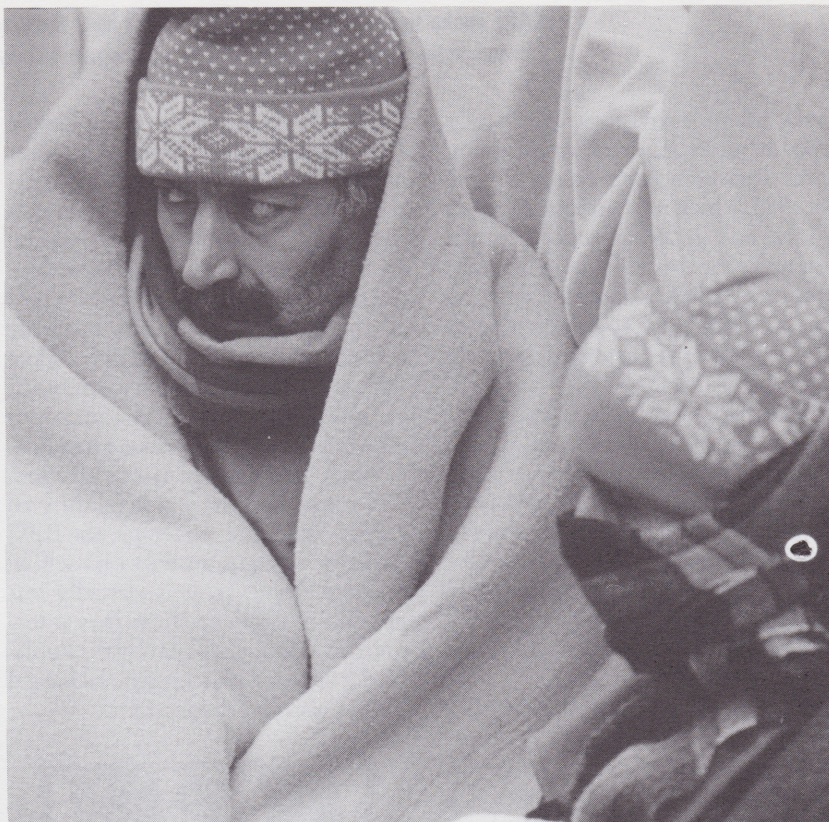
While the Tories play the 'race card', asylum-seekers show us that their struggle for rights does not stop with opposing the Asylum Bill.

That the Asylum Bill may have disappeared from the parliamentary agenda, as the government clears the decks for the election, is both good news and bad. Campaigners are, of course, delighted that, for the time being at least, legal aid will not be withdrawn, asylum-seekers will not be fingerprinted, local authorities will still be obliged to house those that need it, and students and visitors will not be deported immediately if their asylum application is rejected. On the other hand, asylum-seekers are no nearer getting any appeal rights against Home Office decisions to refuse entry.

But suspicion that the Bill was deliberately killed off so that the Tories can once more play the race card in the election, contrasting their own desire to be tough on 'bogus asylum-seekers', and on immigration generally, with the other parties' 'softness' in opposing the Bill, is proving correct. The front page of the *Evening Standard* on 27 February was devoted to a dramatic 'expose' of the Home Secretary's 'bogus refugees', following police raids in East London.

What the story truly exposed was the fact that the tabloids are ready to lend their full-blooded support to yet another spate of Tory refugee-bashing in the run-up to the election. And, if the Tories win, the Bill will be back with a vengeance.

The message from campaigning groups, then, is that the fight continues.



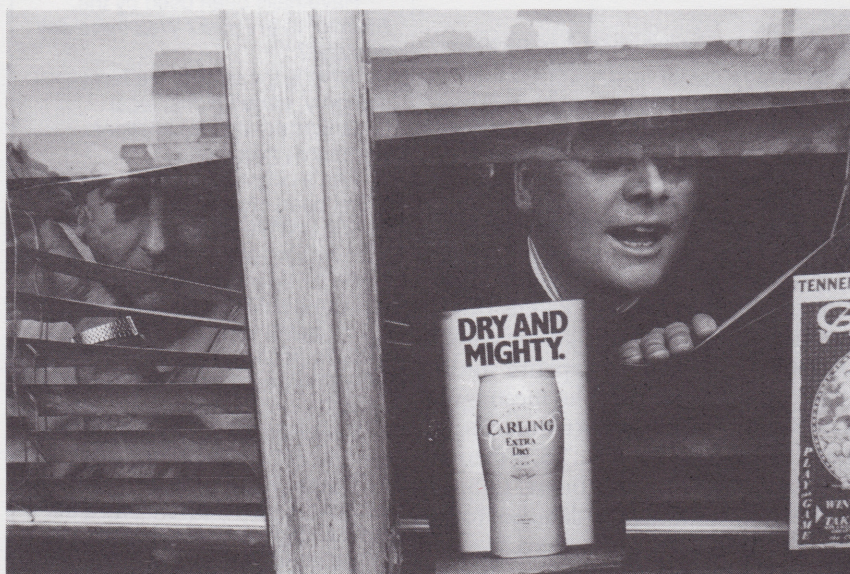
John Walter

On Monday, 17 February, ten Kurdish-Alevi asylum-seekers began an indefinite hunger strike outside the Home Office. The protest, organised by the Action Committee for the Unification of Asylum Seekers Families, is to call attention to the denial of their rights to family reunion.

Asylum-seekers awaiting a decision on their claim are not allowed to have their families join them. The government allows family reunion only in cases where it has granted full refugee status; people who are granted 'exceptional leave to remain' cannot normally have their families here for four years.

One asylum-seeker said: 'I have not seen my wife and children for three years. I have been oppressed and persecuted all my life, now I am in exile. I am an old man and ill, I may die without having seen my family again for such a long, long time.'

The Action Committee is c/o 84 Balls Pond Rd., London N1. Tel: 071-254 0387 or 071-923 1202



John Walter

LEFT HIGH AND DRY

When demonstrators marched against the BNP headquarters in Bexley on Saturday 22 February, these brave BNP minders decided to defend their nazi bunker in a nearby pub. Meanwhile, the campaign against the BNP HQ is set to intensify. Anti-Racist Alliance chair, Ken Livingstone has raised the matter in parliament - and now, police, the government and Bexley council alike are busy passing the buck. So much for Britain's wonderful laws against incitement to racial hatred.

A spokesperson for Greenwich and Bexley Anti-Racist Alliance told CARF that the much vaunted police search of the BNP premises 'wasn't so much a raid. The police actually phoned to make an appointment with the BNP to view their materials.' The Alliance is concerned that unless pressure is brought to bear on the Crown Prosecution Service, it will simply sit on the materials seized. A lobby of the next full meeting of Bexley Council is planned for May. Further information from Anti-Racist Alliance: 071-607 3988.

Own goal

Football fans campaigning against terrace racism have had a setback after a recent court ruling.

In 1991, after sustained campaigning by supporters' organisations, the government outlawed racist chanting at football matches, as proposed by the Taylor report on Hillsborough. It was included in the 1991 Football Offences Act.

Police forces up and down the country promised strong implementation of the new Act and, as reported in CARF No 4, a Newcastle United fan was arrested under it on the opening day of this season. However, the twist came in December when the fan, Paul Phillip of Longbenton, Newcastle, had the charges against him dismissed.

The magistrate ruled that, under section 3 of the Act, chanting meant repeated uttering of words or sentences in concert with at least one other person. There was apparently no evidence of anyone else joining in, so Phillip walked free, even though the arresting police officer saw him making monkey noises, then climb a barrier and singing racist songs. The police also said that the three black players in the opposing team received a barrage of racist abuse from the Newcastle fans that day.

The bizarre legal conclusion of this case seems to be that none of these fans could be held individually responsible, no matter how blatant or offensive their racist behaviour. Phillip was the only one arrested, so he couldn't be guilty! This patent nonsense will bring a wry smile to the faces of many football fans, because there is a long history of police forces, such as the West Midlands, arresting individual fans apparently at random, because they didn't like the behaviour of other fans.

The magistrates' interpretation is clearly entirely at odds with the original aim of the Act, which was to come down hard on the minority of racist idiots who think that they can shout racist abuse from the terraces and get away with it. The solicitor for the Football Supporters Association, Peter Jackson, said: 'If there is a loophole, we want it plugged.'

Write to your local MP, and demand that this law is tightened up, so that effective action can be taken against racism. ■

The latest issue of *Marching Altogether*, the fanzine of Leeds Fans United Against Racism and Fascism, is available from Box 151, 52 Call Lane, Leeds LS1 6DT, 50p inc p+p.

South African dirty tricks

The revelations of official involvement in Inkatha's killing campaign in South Africa come as no surprise. CARF looks at the history of covert action in South Africa.

'Bullshit' was Gatsha Buthelezi's response to questions about military intelligence funding of his Inkatha Freedom Party and he said it twice on World in Action's 'Getting Away with Murder', on 27 January.

But now it's official. Not only have South African security forces and military intelligence stood by while thousands of innocent people were killed, but they have also systematically fostered the violence that has plagued South Africa's black townships.

In 1986, at the secret Hippo camp in Namibia, then occupied by South Africa, some 200 Inkatha members were trained in the use of firearms and explosives. These men form the core of what has become known as the 'Third Force'. Formally incorporated into the KwaZulu Police, they went into the townships and recruited young men from the gangs, trained them in turn, armed them, and sent them back into the townships to terrorise and kill at will.

The results of this strategy are now well-known. The front organisations set up to distance the military from these activities, the money filtered through these agencies, the admissions by De Klerk and the lies and disinformation, are also well documented.

A history of violence

But these activities cannot be isolated from South Africa's long history of government-fomented violence. Its seeds can be found back in the late 1960s, when defence minister P W Botha ushered in an era of military expansion, supported by Rhodesia and Portugal, designed to ensure the survival of white supremacy in the subcontinent.

Then, with the overthrow of Portuguese dictator Caetano in 1974, it became clear that the apartheid regime could no longer rely on its neighbouring states to protect it from the guerrilla armies on its borders.

So it began to look elsewhere. It embarked on an 'outward-looking' policy, building international links, pursuing closer ties with western powers, while at the same time seeking to strengthen or, in some cases, create 'liberation movements' opposed to those in the

neighbouring countries which had close ties with the ANC. In Angola it supported Unita and FNLA against the principal liberation movement, MPLA. Though unsuccessful there, it went on to take over Renamo after the establishment of an independent Zimbabwe.

Renamo (or MNR, Mozambique National Resistance) had been formed in the late 1970s, out of members of the Portuguese secret police (PIDE), ex-members of Portuguese forces in Mozambique and deserters from Mozambique's Frelimo, recruited by the Rhodesian Central Intelligence Organisation. Thousands of Rhodesians also went to train in South Africa for infiltration back into Zimbabwe. And in Namibia, the South Africans established the 'Democratic Turnhalle Alliance', as well as special military and police units. These groups were used alongside South Africa's defence forces in attempts to destabilise the newly-independent countries on South Africa's borders and to attack ANC and Swapo bases wherever they existed.

A 'smokescreen'

Militarily, these surrogate forces have had little success. But they have caused immense losses in human and material terms, particularly in Angola and Mozambique. And in South Africa, in the last 12 months alone, more than 2,500 people have been killed in the continuing violence. As Nelson Mandela said on World in Action: 'They [South Africa] have got strong, efficient and well-equipped security forces. If they wanted to stop this violence they would do so within a day or two. They have consistently failed to ... they are now using certain black organisations as a smokescreen in order to carry out the violence themselves, and the purpose is to prevent the ANC from taking over power.'

The indecent haste with which the West is dismantling sanctions must be halted until South Africa has ended its subversion of the democratic process both inside and outside the country, and until a non-racial, democratic government is in place in Pretoria. ■

For more details, see *Brutal Force*, by Gavin Cawthra, International Defence and Aid Fund.

Guess who's coming to dinner?

British nationalists are taking heart from the developments in America, in particular the way presidential hopeful Pat Buchanan's message is being received there.

According to the *Evening Standard*, the next dinner guest of Western Goals could be US Republican presidential candidate Pat Buchanan. Whether he will find time to tear himself away from his busy schedule campaigning in the primaries, to visit a loony right outfit like Western Goals, is debatable. (The latest is he's due to visit in December.) The British National Party is, however, banking (and we mean that quite literally) on a visit. Pat Buchanan and Louisiana Republican senate candidate David Duke, with their wealthy US backers, are into big, big money. With any luck, and if the BNP plays its cards right, some of it might land its way.

'Rights for Whites' US-style

A former Grand Wizard of the KKK, Duke, with his Armani suits and populist approach, gives a modern facade to racist ideas based on eugenics. In 1980, having ostensibly left the KKK, Duke set up the National Association for the Advancement of White People. Last year, NAAWP was selling copies of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and Alfred K Rosenberg's *Myth of the Twentieth Century*.

NAAWP's message is 'equal rights for whites': measures to counter racism 'discriminate against whites' and 'blacks are breeding too quickly', argues Duke. It is a message that the BNP has

successfully brought to the UK in its Rights for Whites campaign.

'America First'

If Duke's revamped racist message appeals to the BNP on the ideological level, it is Buchanan's nationalistic economic theories, expounded weekly in the *Washington Inquirer*, that the BNP looks to. British nationalists may not have forgiven America for the 1775 War of Independence – a betrayal of Anglo-Saxon solidarity, and responsible for the

'melting pot' mess the US has got itself into since – but Buchanan is an American nationalist with a difference.

His 'America First' campaign advocates economic protectionism (particularly against Japanese and Mexican goods) and Buchanan is wholly opposed to immigration and multiculturalism, arguing that America's real ties are with the white world. Drawing on New Right ideas, he argues that African-Americans are poor through their own fault and that they should pull themselves up by their bootstraps, instead of whingeing on about white racism.

The BNP's line is very similar. It is strongly protectionist, and believes that Britain must strengthen fraternal links with 'white' countries – South Africa, Canada, America, Australia – to develop a new white imperial power. With men like Buchanan at the helm, the BNP believes that its absurd dream of a 'White Commonwealth' could come true. ■

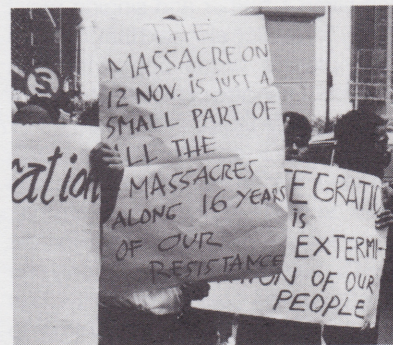
Committee to Stop Buchanan: 071-277 0817

Indonesia's massacres

Over 180 peaceful demonstrators in East Timor were gunned down by Indonesian troops on 12 November 1991. Eighty people arrested after that atrocity were blindfolded and shot by a firing squad three days later. For once, Suharto's murderous regime came in for international censure because a number of foreign dignitaries and journalists had witnessed events. Even the territory's governor has accused sections of the army of inciting the massacre.

That the world has been ominously silent since 1975 about Indonesia's illegal invasion and occupation of East Timor (which lies between Indonesia, Papua New Guinea and Australia) was brought home when the UN and 'allies' moved so swiftly to condemn and dislodge Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait. The UN has, in the case of East Timor, done nothing to lift the burden of occupation and repression. Human rights groups estimate that one-third of the population of the island has been wiped out.

According to the British-based Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, the people of East Timor feel extremely isolated in their struggle. Ironically, it is from Portugal – their erstwhile colonial oppressor – that the Timorese get any support. Last November, 10,000 people demonstrated in Lisbon against the recent atrocities. In Australia, home to



the largest Timorese refugee community, there has also been public outrage, with demonstrations and union attempts to embargo trade with Indonesia.

But the Australian government seems to have a different agenda. Since oil reserves were discovered in the seabed off the south coast of East Timor, Australia has been busy establishing a sea-bed boundary with Indonesia – thereby giving de jure recognition of Indonesia's annexation of East Timor. Whereas in the case of Kuwait, it was in western interests to prevent Iraq from seizing one of the world's most profitable oil resources, in the case of East Timor's oil, western interests have worked the other way, favouring the invader against the victim.

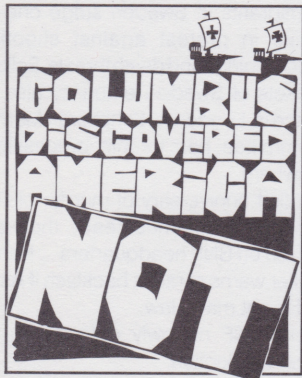
For more information, contact Tapol, 111 Northwood Road, Thornton Heath, Surrey CR7 8HW.



Protesters against David Duke

500 years of resistance

The first issue of the 500 years of resistance campaign magazine, launched in February 1992, describes the popular campaigns in Latin America against the Columbus quinqucentenary celebrations in October 1992 which will mark 500 years of oppression and resistance in the Americas.



The magazine makes the point that 'the conquest has not ended ... the measures imposed by the IMF and foreign banks are killing poor people'. It tells how to get involved in solidarity activities and lists forthcoming events all over the country. ■

Available from the 500 Years of Resistance Campaign, Latin America House, Kingsgate Place, London NW6 4TA.

Bloody Sunday

On 30 January 1972, British soldiers of the Parachute regiment shot dead 13 civilians (a 14th died later) and wounded 11 more in Derry at a civil rights march against internment without trial. Bloody Sunday, which brutally demonstrated the fallacy of the 'peace-keeping' role of the British military in the six counties, is examined in detail by Eamon McCann.

He does not confine himself to the day, but explores in detail the events that led up to it and the aftermath. He describes how the threat of the 'no-go' areas in Free Derry placed 'law and order' firmly on the agenda of the Stormont administration's agenda.

In 1971, Brian Faulkener, in his first statement as prime minister, promised that the rule of law would operate in all parts of Northern Ireland. Shortly after, internment without trial was introduced – over the next four years, 2,158 internment orders were signed, the majority, it is

widely acknowledged, against people who were not IRA members.

The policy of internment, along with the banning of street marches and protests, led to a revival of civil rights campaigns, and to an increasingly violent response from British troops. Foreshadowing Bloody Sunday was the civil rights march to Magilligan Internment Camp, where Paras (specially brought in to deal with the marchers) fired rubber bullets and CS gas at point-blank range before moving in with boots and fists. The episode was seen by millions on TV. It was a public relations disaster for the British. But, little more than a week later, the Paras were sent into Derry.

While the Paras' explicit instructions on 30 January will only be known with access to confidential military documents, it is certain that the army expected a confrontation – and that it was not a matter of the Paras running amok. They were in full control.

'The pattern of casualties confirms this. With the exception of Peggy Deery, who medical evidence suggested had been hit by a ricochet, all of those shot dead were men. And all, with the exception of Damien Donaghy (15) and John Johnston (53) – the two who were shot in William Street more than a quarter of an hour before the main bloodletting – were between the ages of 17 and 41 – men of military age. This suggests highly discriminate shooting.'

Of those who died, several were shot from behind, others as they crawled on the ground – and at least one man was killed with his hands raised in the air in surrender.

In his analysis of the attempted cover-up, Eamon McCann is at his best. While the Widgery Tribunal into the events of Bloody Sunday was widely condemned, McCann's detailed investigation into its contorted logic shows that it was intended less as a search for the facts than as a closing of ranks of the British political, military and legal establishment.

In his summing up, McCann compares the cover-up with other notorious instances – such as Birmingham 6, Guildford 4, the Maguire family, Judith Ward and Patrick McLoughlin. And he sees this process as inevitable, because the judges' 'essential role is not to dispense justice but to operate as part of the machinery of the state to defend the existing economic order'. ■

Bloody Sunday in Derry: what really happened by Eamon McCann (Brandon, 1992).

Tottenham Three • The Home Office has told Winston Silcott (still in prison for the murder of a man, armed with a knife, at a party) that the earliest he will be up for parole is 2002. Lawyers have described this as 'draconian', and out of all proportion to his offence. George Silcott said, that despite Winston being cleared of the murder of PC Blakelock, 'the authorities are hell-bent on exacting retribution'.

Cardiff Three • The police have reopened the investigation of the murder of Lynette White in 1988, for which Tony Paris, Yusef Abdullahi and Stephen Miller were found guilty. The police, who originally issued a photofit of a white man seen near the scene, are now investigating white suspects. Last June, the Home Secretary referred the cases of Paris and Abdullahi to the Court of Appeal, after campaigners for the three pointed to inadequacies and contradictions in the evidence against them. The Crown Prosecution Service has not explained why witness evidence supporting the three men's alibis was not presented at their trial. In a separate development, the confession of Stephen Miller was said to be unreliable in a BBC Panorama programme in February.

Martin Calvert • There were celebrations as Mr Calvert, convicted and dismissed from his job for defending himself against a racist attack, was released on parole and reinstated in his job after a vigorous community campaign against his dismissal. The celebrations were tempered with anger that his appeal against sentence was rejected by the Court of Appeal.

Kulwinder Kaur • Members of the West Midlands Anti-Deportation Campaign (see CARF No4), seen here picketing the High Court in February, are encouraged that Kulwinder has won the right for leave to appeal against deportation. The campaign continues to press the Home Office to reverse its decision. Further information from: West Midlands Anti-Deportation Campaign 021-236 8620.



Mark Salmon

JANUARY

- 1 Three Zairean asylum-seekers, on hunger strike since 23 December against their detention, are moved to hospital.
- 6 Lebanese man in critical condition after refugee hostel in Germany set on fire.
- 7 Police arrest neo-Nazi Gottfried Kuessel in Vienna.
- 9 Nine people found guilty following racial attack and 10-hour siege of Pakistani shop in Whitworth, near Rochdale.
- 13 Five men convicted of violent disorder following riots outside Asian shop on Cardiff's Ely estate last year.
- 16 Charged with assaulting Asian man, football fan banned from all British football grounds as a condition of bail ... Birmingham head teacher launches investigation into after-school tussle following claims that black children were attacked and abused.
- 17 Home Secretary rejects Commission for Racial Equality demand for specific offence of racial violence.
- 21 Refugee section of UKIAS to be set up as separate body ... Amendments to the Asylum Bill described as a 'climbdown' by Roy Hattersley ... Norman Tebbit accused of 'using the race card' when he claims 'so-called refugees' are involved in large-scale benefits fraud ... Lothian Campaign Against Racism and Fascism march on third anniversary of murder of Somali refugee Ahmed Shek ... 5,000 people attend anti-asylum bill march in London organised by the NUS.
- 22 Home Office to consider case of Sudanese asylum-seeker who fled neo-Nazi gang attacks in Germany ... Italian skin-heads stab two North Africans in Rome.
- 23 Detective chief super Graham Melvin, who led Broadwater Farm investigation, bailed on charges of perjury and conspiracy to pervert the course of justice.
- 24 Former police officers charged with conspiracy to pervert the course of justice in Guildford 4 case must stand trial, says High Court.
- 27 Whites-only working-men's club in Birmingham ruled illegal under the Race

Relations Act ... Socialist party takes third place behind National Front in French by-election.

- 28 Strong opposition to Kirklees council plans for permanent gypsy caravan site.
- 29 Health secretary William Waldegrave says Afro-Caribbean mental patients may be being misdiagnosed.
- 30 Family of four evicted for racial harassment is 'intentionally homeless', says Kirklees council.
- 31 Two Watford grammar schools discriminate against Asian applicants, says CRE report.

FEBRUARY

- 3 British government faces human rights actions over alleged maltreatment of Moroccan workers in Gibraltar ... Hungary holds Chinese with valid visas in detention camp for 26 days.
- 4 Hackney MP Brian Sedgemore calls for judicial inquiry into allegations of corruption at Stoke Newington police station in east London ... Swedish government believes White Aryan Resistance group is behind shooting of 11 immigrants.
- 6 Kulwinder Kaur given leave to seek judicial review against Home Secretary's decision to deport her to India.
- 8 Two men who racially abused and attacked Satnam Singh in Bonnybridge, near Falkirk, during the Gulf war, fined a total of £800.
- 9 Jewish policeman who won industrial tribunal case against working on the sabbath resigns because of anti-Semitism in the force.
- 10 Government abandons proposals to withdraw legal aid advice from immigrants and asylum-seekers ... Police use new DNA technique in hunt for PC Keith Blakelock's killer.
- 11 Two off-duty policemen jailed for two years for beating up and racially abusing black taxi-driver.
- 12 *Times* reports case of Somali woman who gave birth unassisted by a road near Naples while crowd stood by and jeered.
- 13 South Wales police re-opens inquiry into murder of Lynette White ... Italian supreme court overturns successful appeal against conviction of neo-fascists over Bologna bombing and orders new trial.
- 14 Kenneth Baker denies saying that Tories would make race an election issue after Asylum Bill looks unlikely to go through before polling day ... Part-time judge David Spens accused of making racist remark during trial of a Nigerian woman is cautioned ... Spanish PM says illegal immigration from north Africa is key problem facing Spain and the EC.
- 16 7-months pregnant black woman plans to sue London police after being wrongly identified as drug dealer and held in cell for 25 hours.

- 17 Metropolitan police pays £20,000 to two black people who claimed they were treated in a racist manner ... Austrian police break up founding meeting of a neo-Nazi organisation.
- 18 National Front wins 8% of vote in first round of local by-election in Nice.
- 20 John Major says that evidence collected in police raid of BNP Thamesmead bookshop is being considered by Crown Prosecution Service ... Over a thousand people join funeral procession for Mohammed Sarwar in Manchester.
- 21 Immigrants in Sweden stage one-hour strike in protest against shootings, firebombings and death threats. Solidarity pickets of Swedish embassy also take place in London ... Sahitharan Memorial Committee has torchlit procession in Newham.
- 22 On first anniversary of murder of Rolan Adams in Thamesmead, thousands march on BNP headquarters ... Kenneth Baker warns of racist backlash if Asylum Bill is not made law.
- 23 French NF narrowly defeated in Nice local by-election.
- 24 As Prevention of Terrorism Act is renewed, Kenneth Baker announces plans to strengthen it.
- 25 Inquest returns verdict of lawful killing on Ian Gordon.

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